4:Grajdanzev--18-20 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-4
116, 175, 668

"In 1894 the war between Japan and China began. China suffered defeat, and by the Treaty of Shimonoseki of April 18, 1895, Liaotung peninsula and Taiwan were ceded to Japan. Though the Pescadores Islands had been occupied by Japanese [19] marines, there were no Japanese troops on the island of Taiwan at the time the treaty was signed, and when the news reached Taiwan, the administration and the population decided not to submit to the cession. It is quite possible that Peking encouraged local authorities to do this and there were rumors that in order to avoid the transfer of the island to the Japanese, the government was ready to give it to the British or to the French. In fact, the British are said to have declined the offer, (1) and under the circumstances, the French too

1. In view of the interest which the British had in the island (as was shown above) the natural question arises as to why they declined this offer. The answer is given in the work of Mr. W.A. Pickering, an important official in British service, of whom none other than Sir Robert Hart said in 1878 that 'no single European had ever possessed such opportunities of learning the Chinese character in all its phases,' and who from 1877 to 1888 'was virtually the ruler of some hundreds of thousands of Chinese in the Straits Settlements and in native States' (See his Pioneering in Formosa, London, 1898, p. 257). Mr. Pickering writes: 'Well, Japan is an Asiatic nation in spite of her modern civilization and her Western

> ideas. Against any European power Japan can do absolutely nothing, in fact there is no European nation that has any reason to fear anything from any Asiatic race, however civilized. Japan, however, would be splendid as an ally; and, per contra, she would be just as dangerous in alliance with any other European power. That she would be a splendid ally to us I have not the least doubt.' And further (p. 258, op. cit.): 'And Formosa? Well we have had lots of chances to take Formosa. Certainly, we can't allow Russia or France to take it, and it could not be in better hands than those of Japan or in worse than those of China.' The gift of Taiwan to Japan was to pave the ground for a coming alliance. The British were sure of Japan's inability to rule there without British assistance and capital. The Pickerings who thought they knew the Chinese character so well badly misjudged the Japanese.

showed no special inclination to take it. Nevertheless the Chinese of Taiwan decided to act on their own. On May 23, 1895, the Taiwan republic (for which China's treaty was not binding) came into existence with the governor of the province Tang Ching-sung as its president.

But the republic of Taiwan lasted in the north less than three weeks. The president of the republic fled after the first defeat of his troops, and the army was left disorganized and leaderless. It is true that General Liu Yung-fu proclaimed himself president in the south, but at the approach of the Japanese he fled in the same manner as Tang Ching-sung.

116, 175, 668

As subsequent events clearly showed, it was not the absence of enthusiasm on the part of soldiers and of the people to fight for Taiwan that caused the collapse of the Republic. Describ-[20]ing the guerilla war which took place after the flight of the president, Yosaburo Takekoshi says: 'Whenever our troops were defeated, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages instantly became our enemies, every one, even the young women, arming themselves and joining the ranks with shouts of defiance. Our opponents were very stubborn and not at all afraid of death.' (2)Chinese mandarins showed their inability

2. Japanese Rule in Formosa, p. 88.

to rule the country in time of peace; they proved also their complete inability to organize its defenses in time of war. (3)In better hands Taiwan could have shown incomparably

3. The following rewards promised by the governor of Taiwan may serve as an illustration of his military knowledge:for the capture of a big man-of-war, 70,000 taels; for the capture of a small cruiser, 4,600 taels.

better resistance. The president fled on June 11, but Taiwan (in the south) was not taken until November 18, 1895, and four to six more years were necessary in order to subdue the guerilla warriors whom the Japanese contemptuously called 'brigands'. Japanese

losses in the pacification were not small. Takekoshi gives the following figures: died of disease in Taiwan, 4,642; sent to Japan for treatment, 21,748; remaining in hospitals in Taiwan, 5,246; killed in battle, 164; wounded, 515. This does not include losses suffered after November 1895 (4).

> 4. Engagements of the period of 1895-1901 were often on a quite large scale. In December 1895 General Yamaguchi, suppressing the 'insurrection of Hakkas armed only with long poles...shot five or six hundred of them and forced the rest to submit.' (Takekoshi, op. cit., p. 92.)

The strikingly small number of killed and wounded, as compared with those who died of disease or were treated for illness is possibly the result of the habit of the Japanese command in understating losses in war. Chinese losses up to December 1895 were estimated by Japanese at six to seven thousand killed in action."

4:Grajdanzev--176-177 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 175, 208, 563, 668, 177.65 Japan
636.65

"Political Movements (1)
1. The information concerning these movements is taken chiefly from Yanaihara, op. cit., and from Sekai nenkan, 1939.

As was shown in the historical section of this book, the island was not actually acquired by the treaty of Shimonoseki, but was conquered by the Japanese. This conquest took seven years and the Japanese recognize that the island was pacified only about 1902. However, in 1907 the Peipu rebellion broke out, the immediate cause being an attempt on the part of the officials to use the paochia in the subjugation of the savages. In 1912 the Linchi rebellion broke out in connection with the felling of the bamboo forest by Mitsui interests, and in 1915 [177] there was a new rebellion at Hsilaian. All these rebellions were suppressed by the government. These and other spontaneous movements, the information concerning which was withheld by the government, are classified by the Japanese as rebellions of the old type, to distinguish them from newer movements guided by persons with modern education and ideas. The first of these movements was led by a Japanese, Taisuke Itagaki, who came to Taiwan in November 1914 and organized Dokakai, the Assimilation Society. The purpose of Itagaki was not a revolutionary one; he wanted to see the Chinese of the island assimilated by the Japanese. He realized however, that this assimilation could not take place unless the Chinese of the island

were given equal treatment and equal opportunities in education. But such ideas appeared too dangerous to the government-general and the movement was suppressed in February 1915. Another stimulus to the awakening of political consciousness in the Chinese was given by Lin Hsien-t'ang, a wealthy Chinese who petitioned the government to permit him to open a private middle school in Taichu for the Chinese. The idea was evidently so strange and radical to the Japanese that they consider this application an important stage in the political development of the island. In 1918 the Chinese from Taiwan who studied in Tokyo organized the Domeikai, an organization the primary purpose of which was to effect the abolition of some especially harsh laws in Taiwan. In 1919 this organization started a monthly publication Taiwan Youth, which a few years later was changed into a weekly. At that time the attempt to transfer its publication to Taiwan failed, but the organ became the spearhead of the educational movement and in the 'liberal' years of 1927-30 this publication succeeded in moving to Taiwan and turned into a daily newspaper, the fate of which has already been described."

4:Grajdanzev--177-178 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 668, 177.66 Japan
636.66

"The World War brought in its wake unrest and political agitation. Lin Hsien-t'ang, together with many other Chinese, petitioned the Imperial Diet in February 1921 for the establishment of a parliament in Taiwan and for some kind of home [178] rule. The diet paid no attention either to this or to the following petitions, but the government-general arrested hundreds of persons in 1923 in order to stop the movement (1).

1. This is the Japanese version. Professor R. Goldschmidt, who visited the island in 1926 and who is in general an admirer of Japanese colonial methods, writes as follows: 'There are rumors that the movement was suppressed with 3,000 death sentences. But the notorious Japanese system of secrecy makes this difficult to verify.' (Translated from the German, Neu Japan, Berlin, 1927. pp. 109-110.)"

4:Grajdanzev--178-179 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 467, 656, 668, 177.66 Japan
636.66

"In October, 1921, Lin Hsien-t'ang, Ts'ai Pei-ho (who was arrested in 1923), Chiang Wei-sui and others organized the Taiwan Bunkakyokai (Taiwan Cultural Society), which very soon became the centre of the national movement among the moderate elements. But in 1926 the Marxist groups made their appearance on the island for the first time when twenty Chinese formed the Taiwan Proletarian Youth League (Taiwan Musan Seinenkai). Since that time the political movement has separated into two branches—the Moderates centered around the Bunka Kyokai and were strongly represented in the Taiwan Agricultural Cooperatives, and the revolutionary Marxist organizations closely connected with the workers union (Taiwan Koyuso remmei), which in 1928 was reported to have had as many as 6,367 members and to have organized several successful strikes. However, after 1928 there began a new era of suppressions and arrests and one after another the Chinese organizations fell victims to it. The Marxist groups were the first to go. In 1931 the Taiwan Koyuso remmei was suppressed and finally in August 1937 even the most moderate movement of the right wing organizations, the purpose of which was the reform of local government, was dissolved on the claim that the government had already realized this reform.

This, of course, does not mean that all these movements were eradicated; they went underground, and continued their struggle, but the government suppression made even moderate groups more radical than they were before. In 1931 Taiwanese in Shanghai reorganized their Taiwan Youth Party into the Anti-imperialist League. It had close

connections with Taiwan, where its members from time to time were rounded [179] up by the police."

4:Grajdanzev--179 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 668

"That the struggle in Taiwan continues one may see from a dispatch from Chungking which reads in part: 'Great significance is attached here to the formation of a united front among the various Formosan revolutionary parties with the inauguration of the Federation of Formosan Revolutionists. The unification of the revolutionary parties is announced in the first issue of the Taiwan Hsienfeng, official organ of the newly-formed organization.

The Federation is composed of the Formosan Independence Revolutionary Party, The Formosan Revolutionary League and many other smaller groups of Formosan revolutionists, active throughout Formosa, in China and foreign countries. 'Since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities Formosan revolutionists have started many uprisings in Formosa. Japanese-owned mines were bomed, oil wells set on fire, and railways wrecked.' (China To-day, September 1940, p. 19.)

Of course it is useless to try to find confirmation of this information in the official sources, which even before the war were so secretive about the nationalist movement in Taiwan. But those who are well acquainted with the position of the Chinese in Taiwan will not be astonished by this kind of information.

The immediate aims of the party in Taiwan are formulated as follows: (1) To disorganize Taiwan's production and communications. (2) To strengthen Alashan anti-Japanese guerilla forces in Taiwan. (3) To organize groups of volunteers for war with Japan in China. (4) To organize strikes of workers, municipal personnel, pupils.

116, 668

(5) To spread anti-war and anti-fascist propaganda. (6) To unite all Taiwan revolutionary organisations. (Taiwan Hsienfeng, April 15, 1940, p. 31.)"

4:Grajdanzev--191 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 563, 668, 656, 723, 177.66 Japan
636.66

"It was shown in the first chapters of this book that the Japanese on the island form only a very small part of the population of the island. The mass of the population is formed by the Chinese who came to the island from Fukien and Kwangtung. In spite of the Japanese government during the past decades they have remained Chinese in their thought, in their language, religious beliefs, customs, dress. The importance of Taiwan as a base for Japanese aggression is in this respect anomalous. An island where there are more than five million potential (and in some cases actual and active) enemies cannot be considered as a perfect base. Just across the straits lies China, unconquered in spite of four years of war. Underground organizations of Chinese exist on the island, and their representatives in Chungking claim many achievements, including acts of sabotage, open fighting with the Japanese troops by Taiwan guerillas and so on. There is no way to check these claims, because the [Japanese--analyst] Government-General a long time ago turned Taiwan into a news-proof prison, from which no information is available, except that which the Government-General pleases to publish for the benefit of credulous foreigners."

15: U.S. Navy --22 [2]
116, 181, 668, 177.66
636.66

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Formosans who have received the advantages of a Japanese education naturally expect opportunities in return. If such cannot be found in Taiwan, nor in China or Japan, discontent may increase. The Formosan temperament is not aggressive, but 'Old Formosa Hands' remark that this temperament often finds devious ways of achieving desired ends in spite of official control.

The Formosans lack leadership, for the Japanese have destroyed out-spoken opposition or have driven it underground and abroad. Only through pressure of Japanese occupation did there begin to develop a sense of the interests of the Formosan people as a whole, and the formulation of a political program embracing the welfare of the island vis-a-vis Japanese policy."

15: U.S. Navy --22 [9]
116, 186, 668, 563, 177.66
636.66

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"It is evident from an analysis of election returns that the greatest interest in politics and representative government is shown in the districts where the Hakka people are predominant, notably in Shinchiku Province. It is also notable that many of the leaders of fierce resistance to the initial Japanese invasion of the island were Hakka people or people from areas in which the Hakka predominate. Not only is government -processed opium said to be more easily accessible in Shinchiku Province, but it is in this district that the Japanese have taken greatest pains to destroy local religious cults, and to press the Japanization program."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [5]
116, 467, 668, 871, 177.87
636.87

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Formosan peasant and trade unions were not organized along class lines, owing perhaps to the essential democracy of the Chinese guild system. Members of the middle and well-to-do classes actively supported the peasants and workers in their agitation for better working conditions and attempted to work for legislation to that end. The biggest handicap to any such movement has been the lack of education for peasants and workers, especially of education which could be gained outside of the Japanese 'National Schools.'"

656 575 Reformation of Bad Habits and Customs (such as prostitutes and drinking), etc. are further examples of this type. Many of these associations were organized under government encouragement in response to the new situation after the 1920's in order to distract the awakening Formosans who were grumbling against colonialism.

Social clubs for hobbies, recreational, literary artistic and cultural activities were organized freely by the Japanese. A selected number of Formosans were permitted to join these clubs. Philanthropic agencies had existed since the Manchu era. Some of them were reorganized and new agencies were added during the Japanese era. Religious groups with the exception of Christian minors, were less active.

Voluntary Associations of the Formosans

•668 As folk associations waned with the change of social life after World War I, the Formosan people began to form their own voluntary associations of a modern type.

1. Political Associations

After World War I the spirit of democracy permeated the whole world. In Japan serious problems appeared and democratic and socialistic movements became widespread.

668 In China, social movements of the modern type among students and young people gained momentum at about the same time. Under the influences of both China and Japan, Formosa was involved in this modern current. In 1919 an association was organized by Formosan students in Tokyo, and started the work of enlightenment and criticism of colonialism in Formosa. Two years later, in 1921, the Taiwan Cultural Association was organized in Taipei by young people and students both in Japan and Formosa. In the name of cultural enlightenment, they organized public speaking teams, gave lectures, and held meetings in various places in the island. Their new knowledge and criticism of colonialism stirred up the racial consciousness of the Formosan people, and everywhere they were met with overwhelming enthusiasm. Their activity reached a peak in 1925-26, and between 1923 and 1926 many similar associations in other parts of the island. The social consciousness kindled by this movement proved very important for the subsequent social development on Formosa.

When the movement reached its peak, the association split up, as the ideological incompatability of liberalism, socialism, and communism became clear. The right wing dropped out of the association, and organized the Taiwan People's Party in 1927. In 1929

668 the remaining left wing of the association split again into the communistic and the social-democratic groups, and the latter was expelled from the association. The moderate Taiwan People's Party again split into the conservative rich landlord group and the more radical middle class group. The former group organized the Taiwan League for Local Self-Government in 1929, and in the meeting of the party in 1930, was expelled by the more radical group. But at the same time, the party was disbanded by the colonial government. Thus, by 1930, among the Formosans, there were (1) a communistic group, (2) a social-democratic group, (3) a more radical middle-class group, and (4) a conservative landlord group.

474 2. Farmer's Associations: The influence of
427 this movement could not fail to reach the
668 farmers. In 1924 a dispute arose between
671 sugar cane farmers and a sugar corporation. Under the leadership of a local doctor, the dispute was settled in favor of the farmers. This encouraged the farmers, and in next year the Association of Sugar Cane Farmers was organized. Some farmers had reclaimed government-owned land without permission. This was denounced as illegal, and in 1926 nearly four thousand hectares of this kind of land were distributed to 370 Japanese retired officials. This provided impetus for farmers

474 to unite and fight. Moreover, farmers were
427 under the heavy yoke of the landlord, and
668 most of landlords were local people. On
671 Formosa, 53 per cent of the farm land was tenant land, and tenants had to pay about half of their harvest to the landlord as rent. Moreover, the tenant farmer has various other obligations toward the landlord. This situation was unbearable even to the most subservient tenants, and they often submitted complaints against landlords to legal arbitration. Under the threefold pressure of the sugar corporation, retired Japanese officials and landlords, the farmers were always ready to rebel at the slightest provocation. The sparks kindled in 1924 spread and many farmers's association were organized. It is interesting to note that the name of the association thus organized was not the "association for agriculture," but the "farmer's association." In 1926 these local associations were united into the Taiwan Farmers' Association. Campaigns against the landlord under the direction of the association rapidly increased. There were 5 such cases of disputes in 1924, 4 cases in 1925, 15 cases in 1926, in 1927 the number jumped to 431 cases (2,127 persons involved) and in 1928 dropped back to 134 cases (3, 149 persons involved) in 1928. The magnitude of the dissatisfaction stimulated the Japanese to action and suppression was begun in 1929. With the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931

474 ruthless means of suppression were adopted in the name of internal consolidation. The
427 cases of farmers opposing landlords dropped
• 668 sharply to 23 cases in 1929, 28 cases in 1930, and 16 cases in 1931. However, the
671 influence of the movement on Formosan society, especially on social relations between landlords and tenants was undeniable. The government sponsored landlord-tenants associations after 1924 were a means to mitigate the tense situation of the time.

467 3. Labor Unions: The new social currents also reached factory workers. Labor unions for various trades were organized, and in 1927, 29 local unions were federated into the Taiwan Federation of Workers Unions. At the end of the year participating units increased to 65, and the number of members amounted to 7,861. In 1928 the League of Taiwan Mechanical Workers was organized under separate leadership. Several strikes were directed by the leagues. Both the farmers associations and the worker's unions received co-operation from associations and unions in Japan. Generally speaking, because of the backwardness of Formosan industry at that time, the activity of labor unions was not as conspicuous as that of the farmers. The activity of the union also faded out under the pressure of government suppression in 1929 and 1931. In 1932 almost all labor leaders were arrested, and in 1937, the year

II. ATTITUDES OF THE FORMOSAN CHINESE

A. Toward the Communists:

668 A small number of Formosans had attended the Communist training school (the Institute of the Toilers of the Far East) at Moscow. In 1928 they held a conference with Chinese and Japanese Communists in Shanghai. Shortly thereafter they formed the Taiwan branch of the Japanese Communist Party. Their mission was to "lead" the Farmers" Association, the Workers' Union, the Cultural League, the Anti-Imperialist League, and the Friends of the Masses Society on the island and to incite strikes and riots.[1] One Communist leader, Yang Chun-sung, was assigned to work among Formosan residents in Japan.[2] In 1931 the Japanese administration suppressed the movement in Formosa, disbanding all organizations connected with it. The leaders were either imprisoned or put to death. One of the leaders, Hsieh Hsueh-hung, was sentenced to thirteen years of imprisonment.[3] Following the restoration of Formosa to China, the Communists were active again. They organized the People's League, revived the Farmers' Assodation, and published a newspaper called Jen-min Kung-pao [People's Bulletin]. Ts'ai Ch'ien, a Formosan Chinese[4] and veteran Communist who had accompanied Mao Tse-tung on his Long March to Yenan, was designated chairman of Taiwan's Communist organization.

[Footnotes 1 - 4 on following page.]

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Gradually a growing number of Formosans were won over by Communist Party tactics. The Communists played an important role in the incident of February 28, 1947 and lost many members during the subsequent massacre by governor Ch'en I (Chen Yi). The small group led by Hsieh Hsüeh-hung escaped to Hong Kong and organized the Democratic Self-government League. Hsieh is now a member of the East China Administrative Committee and a member of the People's Political Consultative Council in Peking. The other Communist leader, Ts'ai-Ch'ien, was arrested by the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa in 1951 and his present fate is unknown.[5]

The Communist Party in Formosa was outlawed in 1947 and the island's security control was further tightened when Formosa became the seat of the central government of the Republic of China in 1949. Communism is no longer a serious problem on Formosa. There were only two cases of

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1. Wang Chu-lou, "Tai-wan Jen-min Ko-ming Nien-pao" ["A chronicle of People's Revolution in Formosa], Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peiping, February 28, 1952, p. 3.

2. F. W. Riggs, Formosa under Chinese Nationalist Rule, New York: Macmillan & Co., 1952 p. 54.

3. She was released in 1940 on account of ill health. Kuang-ming Jih-pao, p. 3.

4. He joined the Communist Party in 1925 while studying in a college in Shanghai.

5. Gendai Chugoku Chosen Jinmeikan [Who's Who in Present Day China and Korea] compiled by [cont'd]

668 Communist espionage throughout 1955.[6] Educational institutions which have usually been hotbeds of Communist agitation are found to be relatively free of Communist influences. According to President Ch'ien Ssu-liang of Taiwan National University, there is no known Communist among either the professors or students, and that all suspected Communists have been either persuaded to change their convictions or eliminated. The presidents of two teachers' colleges know of no Communist activities in their schools.[7] The fact that Communist infiltration into Formosa has been held in check should not be construed as solely the result of the stern preventive measures taken by the government.[8] After all, Communism has never

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Japan's Gaimo-sho Asia-Kyoku (Asia Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Tokyo, 1953, pp. 77-83.

6. Even in those cases, according to Nationalist reports, most Communist agents on the island are mainlanders rather than the Formosans, and they concentrate their efforts on propaganda work among fellow exiles rather than among the local population. F. W. Roggs, op. cit., p. 55.

7. Walter Crosby Eels, Communist in Education in Asia, Africa, and the Far Pacific, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1954, p. 45.

8. Communist is a capital crime in Korea.

668 been really strong on the island. It has never been given a chance to take root among Formosans. Communism was repeatedly persecuted by Japan with vigor when the island was under Japanese rule. After the restoration, a great many Communists perished in the February-March 1947 incident. Another important reason why the Formosans have never cherished any hope of being "liberated" by the Communists is that the islanders are convinced that they are faring better than the Chinese on the Mainland. Refugees fled from the Mainland have many stories to tell of the terror and sufferings they have experienced, and such accounts simply render Communist propaganda ineffective. The fact that 14,209 Chinese prisoners of war in Korea refused repatriation after hostilities ceased and that the inhabitants of Yikiangshan (I-chiang-shan) and nearby islands chose to evacuate to Formosa provide additional evidence of the ineffectualness of Communist propaganda. It is quite certain that the people in Formosa are firmly opposed to Communist and that they will wholeheartedly defend the island against Communist aggression.

B. Toward Independence:

186 668 Some Formosans favor complete independence for the island from Nationalist rule. They advocate the setting up of a United Nations trusteeship as a means of enabling the island to attain autonomy. It is said that the Japanese are secretly encouraging the movement in the hope that an independent Formosa might provide a better chance for Japan's imperialist expansion in the future. The separation

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668 movement attracted some following soon after the return of the island to Chinese rule, when the Formosans found themselves worse off than they were under the Japanese. They were denied at that time the opportunity of participating in the management of Japanese enterprises taken over by the Chinese Government. Although the new Chinese Constitution was in force on the Mainland in 1947, local self-government for Formosa was not carried out until 1949. Even then all positions of authority, in both government and business, were occupied by Mainland Chinese. As to the local people, if they had any standing during the Japanese regime, all were treated as Japanese collaborationists. Formosan Chinese who were enthusiastic about the restoration of the island to Chinese rule, expected equality from the Nationalist administration. When they were treated as second class citizens, they were naturally disappointed. Their resentment led to the growth of the independence or separation movement.

The leaders of the independence movement are the two Liao brothers, Joshua and Thomas. Their father was a tax collector at Lotung. Both brothers were educated at Columbia University, and taught in high schools after their return to Formosa. They formed a Freedom Party in 1945 and associated with the Communists in the uprising occurring February 28, 1947. Following this incident, they fled to Hong Kong, organized the Formosan League for Reemancipation, and issued a manifesto, "Formosa Speaks," demanding independence and a plebescite.

186 .669 The manifesto was circulated among the representatives to the United Nations. In May 1950 a Formosan Democratic Independence Party was organized in Tokyo; its leaders included Wilfred Wong, James H. Chen, Gordon Tan, Y. T. Tsong and Frank Lim.[9] Joshua Liao was elected Chairman of the new party. It was reported by a Hong Kong newspaper[10] that in view of their past association with the Communists, the Liao brothers were confined in Sugamo prison, Tokyo, for seven to eight months after their arrival in Japan, and were bailed out by an American by the name of John Kellen. In the latter part of 1955, apparently in connivance with Japanese authorities, they were active again. In September they organized an association of Taiwan residents in Japan and a "Taiwan Provisional Congress."[11] On November 21, 1955, it was announced that Joshua Liao assumed the post of the "President of the Taiwan Provisional Government" and the chairman of the Provisional Congress, while Wu Chen-nan was named "Vice-President."[12] According to Japan's Immigration Bureau, there were in 1955 about 25,000 Formosans living in Japan. How many of the Formosan residents supported Liao was not disclosed.

186 178 In Formosa the independence movement is regarded just as traitorous as Communism. Since

9. F. W. Riggs, op. cit., p. 56.

10. Weekly Supplement of Hsing-tao Jih-pao (Hsing-tao Daily), No. 201, Sept. 15, 1955, p. 12.

11. United Press, Tokyo dispatch, Sept. 28, 1955.

12. Pan-Asia News Alliance, dispatch of November 21, 1955.

625 874 The exact number of personnel belonging to the police force on Formosa is not available. According to the China Handbook for 1954-55, the total police force numbered a little more than 20,000 in 1953. There are two schools devoted to the training of police personnel: the Central Police Academy trains officers, the Taiwan Police Academy trains enlisted men. In 1953, ten officers were selected for advanced training in the United States and Japan.

III. MEASURES AGAINST COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

668 648 The Communists in Peking see Formosa as a potential threat to their regime in contradistinction to the Chinese people on the Mainland, who look to Formosa in the hope of ultimate emancipation. As long as Formosa remains free, it is a thorn in their flesh. The Nationalist Government may use the island as a staging area in preparation for an attack on the China Mainland, much as the Allies made use of Britain prior to the invasion of Nazi-dominated Europe. In consequence, Communists never relent in their effort to infiltrate into the island.

648 625 The Nationalist Government, alert to the presence of saboteurs and spies, has organized a security network under the direction of Lt. General Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek. The security network is controlled by the

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11. China Handbook 1954-55, Taipei, China Publishing Company, 1954, p. 184.

charge of training the new army, and the managing director of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, was exposed by the Peace Preservation Corps. According to the China Handbook 1954-55, approximately one-hundred espionage cases, involving some 4,500 people, have been uncovered in the past four years.[12] The Pan-Asia Alliance News Agency reported on January 3, 1956 that, according to an official release, Communist agents were most active in Formosa just before the conflict in Korea began, but since the launching of the Counterespionage Campaign in 1950, a number of Communist cells have been discovered. In 1955, two conspiracies were suppressed, although the government report does not give further details. One of these cases may have involved the attempt of Major Kuo T'ing-liang to assassinate President Chiang in May 1955. The case was widely publicized because it resulted in the resignation of General Sun Li-jen, former commander-in-chief of the Nationalist land forces, who had been Kuo's superior for many years.

In 1951, the Nationalist Government called upon Communists to renounce their affiliation with the Party; in return, they would receive assurance from the government that their life and property would be protected.[13] Several hundred

12. China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 184.

13. Procedures for Communists and Fellow-travelers to Surrender, promulgated on Sept. 16, 1951.

Communists have since surrendered to the government.[14]

The tightness of security control and the severity of punishment have gained for Formosa the unpleasant appellation of a "Police State." It might be true that in proportion to the size of the territory and the population the number of secret service men is unduly large. This will be no surprise if we take into consideration the fact that the security agents of the Nationalist Government formerly patrolled all of China, a territory 160 times larger than the island of Formosa, and that when the continent was overrun by the Communists, the great majority of those security men had to withdraw to Formosa, for they, more than other groups, were most hated by the Communists. Nevertheless, the swarming of secret service men in Formosa has created the impression that everyone on the island is being haunted by the shadow of a Police State.[15] It is also possible that some searches and arrests have been unwarranted. But overcaution is inevitable as Nationalist China is at war with a ruthless and unscrupulous enemy. After all, under martial law, persons endangering the safety of a nation may be sentenced to death

14. China Yearbook, 1953, p.825:203 Communists surrendered between May 1952 and April 1953. China Handbook 1954-55, p.184: "More than 100 Communists gave themselves up in 1953."

15. [see following page]